2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child but would impair the father's luck in any venture. Restrictions applying to both the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassooed or any animal tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery. Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only necessary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she would bear children thereafter.

The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared. She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown. The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In preparation for delivery (stukwi'ltx^{w}) two stakes were driven into the ground about eighteen or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with downward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

17. Sticky Geranium, *Geranium viscosissimum* F. & M., (ta'qwa'). The geranium leaves were crushed and applied to sores.

A liquor obtained by boiling water in which geranium roots had been placed was used for washing sore eyes.

18. Nettle, *Urtica* sp., (st'sɔt'si'xant, "burning plant"). The nettle was used as a counter-irritant. In cases of inflammatory rheumatism or other swelling a sprig was brushed lightly against the affected part.

19. Arrow-leaved Balsamroot, *Balsamorhiza sagittata* (Pursh) Nutt., (smoqwakmi'lpˢ, "humped-up plant," pi'i'q).[13] A small piece of the root was dried out and toasted near the fire, then pulverized by wrapping it in buckskin and pounding. The powder thus obtained was sprinkled on sores and boils.

Sometimes a piece of the root was flattened by hammering, heated and then bound to a body area which was bruised or painful.

The root was prepared for use as a poultice in still another manner. Small pieces were cut from the bulbs and macerated in a small quantity of boiling water. The paste so formed was rubbed on the afflicted part.

A hair tonic, made from the root by shredding the inner portion and mixing it with water to form an infusion, was rubbed into the hair and scalp to help the growth of the hair.

20. Dogbane, *Apocynum androsaemifolium* L., (þətspətsmɛ'kul, "false hemp") The roots were boiled with water and the concoction was drunk as a contraceptive. It was customary to take the potion about once each week.

21. Western Holly, or Shining-leaved Oregon Grape, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh, (stcualsi'lpˢ, "sour-plant"). The tips of the stems of the holly were boiled and the liquor taken to relieve a disturbed stomach or to stop vomiting.

Tuberculosis was treated with a medicine made by boiling the roots in water.

The roots were used also in the preparation of an eye wash. The roots were washed, the outer covering removed and the inner substance shredded. An infusion was made by soaking these shredded parts in cold water until the liquid became yellow. The fluid was dashed into the eyes with the hands, or the face was immersed in it.[14]

22. Smooth Sumach, *Rhus glabra* L. (tl'tl'ti'lpˢ, "tearing brush"). Sumach leaves were chewed and permitted to remain in the mouth for some time to aid the healing of sore gums.

The leaves were also used for sore lips. In this case they were mashed and rubbed on the lips.

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[13] The first term was the one applied to the plant by William Burke; the second was given by Bob Covington. There is a slight possibility that the two terms designate distinct species, in which case Burke's nomenclature is more apt to be correct for *sagittata* than Covington's.

[14] For non-medicinal uses of holly, see pages 37, 102.

such a one was wi'ówxina, literally (?) "she don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody." These girls never learned to be good. There were never many of them. They never worked but were supported by their own people, even though these did not like them. If a girl was always bad, going with many men, she would not have a chance to marry well. In fact, girls who had many illegitimate children would never marry. If a father found he could not halt her and tired of the disgrace, he marched her out to the woods and shot her with arrows, leaving her without burial. Not every boy would have dealings with such loose girls. The sons of "nice" people would be "nice." But every boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse before marriage. 831 836 [684]

Illegitimate births occured, and the shame of them was lived down. A girl who had already had a baby married, and brought up the child with her later children. There was no way of forcing the man involved to marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination mechanism to determine his identity, and if accused he had only to deny the allegation. He might, however, have married the girl of his own volition. 848

However, at the time of the occurrence it was considered rather shameful, and was so felt by the girl involved. Therefore girls who became pregnant as a result of an illicit affair attempted to produce abortion by violent pressure, as by falling on their abdomens across a log. If this failed they were said sometimes to kill the child if the fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently secret. 847

There was also a magical contraceptive brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget Sound tribe. She would arrive in the Wenatchi country every summer in the days of Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed the women to eat the leaves of a bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark green, shiny leaves are small and pointed, and in general shaped like those of a tobacco called sqwūlī's.) This plant was said to grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was male, the non-blossoming variety female. Women who did not want to have children would eat these leaves after menstruation for a year. This assured permanent barrenness, but its effect, or barrenness from any other cause, might be counteracted by eating the leaves of the female or non-blossoming plant. The point of the leaf was opened with a sharpened twig; it was then blown full of air and swallowed. If the leaf could be blown up without bursting, the woman would conceive. For example, Mary's sister was married many years, but had no children. A year after taking this cure she had a child and later two more. Some women who were barren always burst the leaves when they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon women learned which bush was used, they would get the leaves themselves, asking the bush for help while picking them. In the days 842 824 842

When they had to buy this assistance, they could pay as much as a blanket or a beaded dress for a small bunch of the leaves. 842

Mary Carden had never heard of inserting anything in the vagina to prevent conception.

Girls commonly wore a broad band of buckskin between the legs as a protection against rape. This was attached by thongs to the belt fore and aft. 292 839

Abstention from intercourse before hunting and fishing was considered desirable. The purity thus acquired was to be intensified by the taking of numerous sweat baths. However, while men were away hunting, the conduct of the women left behind could not influence them. 783 834

Berdaches or transvestites were known. They were described as individuals who, though male, preferred woman's dress and occupations. "It was Coyote's fault that there were such people. He announced that there would be such when he left Cougar's house, where he had masqueraded as a woman." They were not considered particularly powerful, but on the other hand they were not frowned upon. People much given to joking might make such an one his butt. We could get no notion of the frequepcy of their occurrence. Most of the informants knew of at least one such case. We were also told of a Nez Percé man who, about sixty years ago, came among them dressed as a woman and attempted to ply the trade of prostitute at a communal gathering. He demanded payment first and fooled the men. The man was apparently sexless, since he could have intercourse with neither men nor women. 838 [773]

In the old days there were no prostitutes. There were some girls more interested in going about with men than in any other pursuit, but this activity was non-professional, and considered very shameful. Sometimes a father who had a daughter of this sort who would not reform, has been known to kill her because of her disgracing the family. 548 834

Women who were not interested in getting married, and liked to hunt, were not called by the same term as the berdaches. These were known to exist. In neither case was it considered by the community to be really a sexual disturbance. Women of this type were sometimes forced by their fathers to marry some satisfactory suitor. 838

At the present time there is a woman of a coast tribe on the reservation who cannot have intercourse with her husband unless she feels passionate; only when she is relaxed and about to sleep. There have apparently always been a few such women, for it was said "the men know how to handle them." (On non-menstruating women, see above.) 833

CHILDBIRTH

842 If the woman did not become pregnant in due course of time after marriage she would eat herbs given or sold her by one of the old women who were wise in such lore. Should she remain barren, she would not be divorced but her husband would take another wife if he could afford it.

843 As soon as the woman knew she was pregnant, she had to observe a number of tabus. Most of these were dietary. If she ate salmon the child would gape and die as soon as it was born, while if she ate pheasant "it would cry too much. If she ate eggs the child would be born with a caul. She was encouraged to eat fool-hen, as this would assure a good disposition for the baby. (Hence a fool-hen's heart was also tied to the cradle.) If she looked upon a corpse the baby would be stillborn, while if she saw a wounded animal or person bleeding, or ate fresh meat, the baby would be born red and bloody, and would die unless she rubbed it with ashes of the red willow and grease.

There were some restrictions on the father as well, but only for a short time immediately before the birth. He must not exert himself too much lest the child also be tired. He was forbidden to hunt, for should he cut a deer's throat at this time the baby would die. Should he kill a grouse and its stomach swell, that of the baby would too. He avoided this by burning a piece of deer sinew. He had to continue these avoidances after the birth while his wife remained in seclusion. Usually a man did not go out hunting at all during this time. He and his wife were fed by relatives during the time she was in seclusion.

[791] Aside from the food tabus there were no restrictions upon the mother. For instance, she might smoke, if she was one with power to smoke. A woman shaman who became pregnant would continue to make cures until the time of birth. A woman was expected to go on with her work, and to arise early and go for a swim every morning. The other women would say to her, "Get up! Don't sleep so long, or the baby will have a big head or something! Go take a swim and don't be lazy." She would remain active, working up to the time of birth, so that the child would not become too large and cause a difficult delivery. For the last month or so she might have no intercourse with her husband, but this was not so important as its avoidance during the post-parturition period. Teit says that the woman must pray to the "Day Dawn" and the husband must take sweat baths, but the first of these was denied by Lucy Joe and the second not mentioned by our informants.

These tabus applied equally at the

[For footnote, see p. 120 (c), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 120 (A)

ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. No precedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson.[20] 853 [845]

For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him. 846

There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed. 842 787

Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con- 845

20 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.